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The patriarchal community draws its subsistence from this agricultural exploitation, and as a result, a kind of work organization has developed. Patriarchal communities or important families have agricultural land in various regions and these tracts are often far apart. Some members of the community or a group of slaves are therefore settled in each domain, sometimes on a permanent basis, sometimes for the period of clearing and cultivating the soil, sometimes for the period of harvest.

Theoretically, every member of the community and every slave must work for the community from dawn to around noon every day during the farming season. Two days, however, Monday and Thursday, are given to these persons for work in their own fields. Anyone who cannot or will not work has the right to provide a replacement from among his dependents.

There are, of course, many exceptions to these rules. In the first place, everyone works according to his position. Among the poor, the master works as hard as the slave, if not harder; among people in comfortable circumstances, the master merely controls and directs the work, sometimes reserving a particular job for himself. In important communities, field work [189] is almost exclusively the duty of the slaves, under the surveillance of their leaders and following the orders of the fa, who either supervises it himself or has a member of his entourage do so.

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Conjugal usufruct. When she marries, a woman is given in usufruct in exchange for the bride price. This usufruct is community property exactly like the things used for the bride price.

When a fa dies, the disposal of the conjugal usufruct included in the estate is a serious matter. Since the conjugal usufruct is of the same duration as the life of the woman, the death of the husband has no legal effect on the situation of his spouse. Since it is understood, however, that the widow has no sexual obligations to her husband's heirs, the usufruct is reduced in that respect. Such is the lot of widows when the heirs decide to keep them without marrying them and the women elect to remain.

794 It is not rash to suppose that in this case they are symbolizing
776 the role, probably primordial and in any event primary, of
825 the nyana to control the supernatural and particularly malevolent forces of the bush. As a matter of fact, the most popular and important nyana are the protectors of the harvests which represent virtually the only property of the natives. One of the nyana is even especially concerned with agricultural work (2);

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2. In the native vocabulary, "to work" (tya-ke, short for tyi-ya-ke) primarily means "to work in the fields."

this is Tyi-wara (god of agricultural work), who presides over the first clearing of the land at the beginning of the winter season.

In any case, whether the animal is regarded as the visible form of a spirit or, if one prefers, the perceptible manifestation of a supernatural force, the belief is strengthened by the common practice of the interdict (tne) and, still more, by the magical acts required of a hunter.

Another aspect of this belief is seen in the choice of an animal to represent the mount of the nyana dugu-da-siri.

794 It is for a similar reason that the brotherhoods usually
825 adopt the name of an animal: for the Nama this is usually the hyena (suruku) (3); for the Komo, the hyena (suruku) or the

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3. The hyena is often designated by the words nama-koro (old Nama) or sùya-koro (old sorcerer) when the speaker does not want to use the animal's real name (suruku). There is a whole vocabulary for use to "avoid" the names that are dangerous to utter, and the name of the hyena is one of them.

elephant (sama); for the Dyara, the lion; for the Kono, the ostrich (kono-ba), etc. It is said that the cries, the shouts, and

248 into narrow bands by weavers [men] who make clothes from it in.
286 unbleached, indigo-blue, yellow, or black fabrics. At the present time, after numerous attempts at improvement since the occupation,
[654] seeds selected according to the zones of cultivation are distributed to the farmers, and the administration encourages industrial cotton cultivation in irrigated regions, as well as mechanical spinning and weaving.

248 Sisal is an agave of Mexican origin. The long, thick, pointed
[107] leaves, after undergoing a series of industrial operations including mechanical extraction of the fibers, yields very strong textile fibers suitable for cordage, rope making, rug manufacture, canopies, etc.

Kapok (Eriodendron anfractuosum) until a few years ago was merely gathered, but now plantations have been created. The fruit is in the form of capsules containing seeds enveloped in a vegetal wadding. In one year the kapok tree can furnish 30 kilograms of fibers used in mattress-making, hat-making ...

D. Agricultural Tools

24 Bambara farming tools are very simple. The hoe is almost the only agricultural instrument used. There are several kinds of hoe, particularly in the Bougouni region: the tyerengu, 0.50 meters wide, with a straight handle (chiefly used by the Sénoufo); the n'gu kala, 0.30 meters wide, with a curved handle. These two are used for digging, scraping, and banking. The flotton, from 0.10 to 0.20 meters wide and with a handle made from a forked branch, is used for the second dressing of the earth and for weeding. (When the weeds are too big, the weeding is done by hand). These hoes oblige the peasant to work stopped over. Let us also mention the axe, dyeli, which serves to cut shrubs and the branches of trees in clearing land, the machete, and a small pickaxe with a hoe handle, the yalo.

[33] Millet spikes are harvested with the aid of a special small knife to cut the stalk into pieces. Finally, the threshing of the ears is done with large bent sticks having round handles and flat ends.

[533] Agricultural labors, tillage and threshing, are undertaken
[461] collectively following the cadence indicated by an instrumentalist. Work in the fields is generally done by starting at the bottom of a slope and working up, so the rain will wash off the weeds. The

you accept it at my hands." If one of the pieces falls with the pulp on top and the other onto the pulp, there is an affirmative answer from the dasiri. The sacrificer bites the kola nut, cuts out with his teeth the piece that contains the seed, and, when he has chewed it a moment, spits the remains onto the bark of the fetish tree.

This procedure, wholly dependent on chance, is often long, for the pieces of kola nut do not always fall in the desired position at the first try. After three failures the crowd ceases to restrain itself and, with gestures and voice, each person intercedes for the unfortunate one. The cries do not stop until the kola nut gives the answer, "I accept and am no longer angry!"

The Semioccult Society of the Koré, or Koté

The Bambara are, above all, farmers, and cultivating a field has such great importance in their eyes that for them it alone really deserves the name of work. One who does not handle the pick may be active and skillful, but he is not a worker and one does not say of him: "A bi ajaké, he is working." But will the seed that /122/ they consign to the earth in the winter sprout, grow, become large, and ripen? However little one knows the Bambara, one can imagine and understand their fears, for they are surrounded by a band of malicious spirits ever ready to pounce on them. Therefore they heed protectors and helpers, and at planting time they offer something to all, even to the rain. The main fetish to which they appeal is the koté, or koré, which lives in a tree in the middle of a small grove.

In order to be present at the sacrifices to the koté, it is necessary to be initiated and to know the password. This initiation, may take place by day, but at least in Bani country, it usually takes place at nightfall when the setting sun takes on a bloody hue. The sons of the genie go in procession to the sacred grove. The koretigi, the priest, opens the march, preceded by musicians who beat the denouba (1) and the kingé (2). With him are the kâra ma ("man of